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A. HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL

I. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

162 Until the twelfth century the marshes and forest-lands along the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea were left in the more or less undisturbed possession of a number of pagan tribes. The Esths and Livs[1] in the northern regions belonged to the Finnish branch of the Ural-Altaic family, while another group farther to the south, subdivided into Letts, Borussians, and Lithuanians, besides a number of other branches, was of Indo-European stock. The Borussians, who moved southward to what is now East Prussia, were early subdued and assimilated by the Germans, while the Letts tended to push northward into Livonia.

797 167 *The Teutonic Orders.* The first invaders of these regions were the Danes, who conquered the northern half of Estonia in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. German merchants and missionaries had meanwhile penetrated into Livonia, where a bishopric was established at Riga in 1201. From then onwards the greater part of the areas now occupied by the States of Latvia and Estonia gradually fell under the dominion first of the Knights of the Sword, and then of the Order of Teutonic Knights, to whom, in 1346, the Danes sold their share of Estonia. These Orders colonized the territory, converted the inhabitants to Christianity, and made them their serfs. Their lineal descendants, the Baltic Barons, maintained their position as the land-owning class until recent times, in spite of the fact that the territory eventually passed into the hands of Sweden and Poland, and finally into those of Russia.

In Lithuania, on the other hand, the Teutonic Knights were never able to make much headway except in the Memel territory, of which the frontier was permanently fixed after the defeat of the Order at Tannenberg in 1410 by Vytautas—one of a succession of Lithuanian Grand Dukes who, in the course of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries, built up a united and powerful State and helped to check the Tartar invasion of Europe.

648 *Poland and Sweden (1386–1709).* After the death of Vytautas in 1430, Lithuania rapidly fell into a position of dependence on Poland, with which country she had already been nominally connected under

97 162 [1] According to Prince P. A. Kropotkin the native language of the Livs was of Finnish origin, though they now speak a Lettish *patois*. (See *Encyclopœdia Britannica*, 11th edition, vol. xvi, p. 817.) The Livs are now practically extinct, though there is a small community of them, some 1,500 strong, in modern Latvia.

423 provided in Lithuania by the law of 1922, and in Estonia by a law
471 of March 5, 1926, proved in practice to be negligible, owing to the currencies in which it was expressed.[1] Petitions on the subject of compensation presented to the League of Nations by the German Balts of Estonia (1926) and Latvia (1925), and by Polish landowners in Lithuania (1925), were all rejected on the ground that agrarian reform constituted a social, and not a minority, question.

The ways in which the lands thus nationalized by the agrarian laws were distributed, and the effects of the redistribution on the economic life of the three countries, are described elsewhere.[2] It is enough here to stress the fact that the chief beneficiaries were the landless agri-
423 cultural labourers, the small-holders, and the tenant farmers. The
178 abolition of the semi-feudal society which had survived up to the World War, and the creation of a large class of peasant proprietors, were factors which very largely determined the lines on which the political life of the new Republics would develop. They explain, in part, not only the failure of Communism to take root in these countries in spite of the proximity to Soviet Russia of two, at least, of them, but also the gradually declining influence of the Socialist and other Left parties in the years immediately following the setting up of the Republics, and the eventual establishment of agrarian dictatorships in Estonia and Latvia in 1934.

2. National Minorities[3]

563 *Lithuania.* At the last census, taken in 1923, the national minor-
162 ities in Lithuania together formed 16·12 per cent. of her total population, which then numbered 2,028,971.[4] The Jews, the largest group,[5] were chiefly to be found in the towns, and played an important part in the business life of the country, whereas the Russian minority consisted chiefly of peasants who settled in certain parts of the country more or less *en masse*, under the Tsarist régime, together with some 4,000 White Russian peasant colonists. The Germans,

[1] In Estonia compensation was based on the pre-War value of the rouble; for the Lithuanian arrangements, see below, p. 107.

[2] See below, pp. 105–9.

[3] Much of the material for this section was obtained from C. A. Macartney, *National States and National Minorities*, Oxford University Press, 1934.

[4] Table 1. *Population of Lithuania (excluding Memel) According to Race (1923 census).*

	Lithuanians	*Jews*	*Russians*	*Germans*	*Poles*	*Letts*	*Others*
Number . . .	1,701,863	153,743	54,881	29,231	65,599	14,883	8,771
Percentage of total population . .	83·88	7·58	2·70	1·44	3·23	0·73	0·44

[5] The density of the Jewish population in Lithuania, which resembles that of Poland and Eastern Rumania, is due to the fact that Lithuania, before 1918, formed part of the Russian 'Pale', within which alone the Jews were allowed to settle without special permission. Thus the Jewish problem in Lithuania differs radically from that in the other Baltic countries.

563 who estimate their numbers considerably higher than does the official
162 census, lived for the most part near the East Prussian frontier, where they settled as small peasants and artisans in the last century. Small Polish and Lettish minorities inhabited the districts bordering on
565 their respective countries of origin. The bulk of the Lithuanians themselves belonged to the peasant and farmer class. There were, however, fairly large bourgeois, clerical, and intellectual classes; the nobility, in so far as it still existed, resided for the most part in Poland, and was in fact almost entirely Polish.

563 The legal status of the minorities was regulated by Articles 73 and
656 74 of the Constitution of December 1922, which provided that
642 national minorities, forming 'an appreciable part of the citizens', might administer autonomously the affairs of their national culture and elect the necessary bodies to conduct these affairs in the manner prescribed by law. They might also impose taxes on their members for the needs of national culture, and might avail themselves of a proportion of the sums set aside by the State and the local government bodies for purposes of education and charity, in so far as their needs were not satisfied by the general establishments maintained by those bodies.[1]

563 In accordance with the requirements of the League of Nations, on
671 May 12, 1922, shortly after her admission to that body, Lithuania made a Declaration modelled on the Polish Minority Treaty of June 28, 1919. This guaranteed to Lithuanian nationals who belonged to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities the same treatment in law and in fact enjoyed by other nationals, as well as the right to maintain and control at their own expense charitable, religious, and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments, and to use their own language and practise their own religion therein.[2] Provision was to be made, in towns where there was a considerable proportion of Lithuanian nationals belonging to linguistic minorities, for the instruction of children in the State primary schools in their own

[1] These rights and privileges were confirmed by Section VII of the Constitution of May 25, 1928.

871 TABLE 2. *Minorities and Education in Lithuania.*

Type of school	*Year*	*Total no. of schools*	*Lithuanian*	*Jewish*	*Russian*	*German*	*Polish*	*Latvian*	*White Russian*	*Diverse*
Primary	1928–9	2,431	2,185	135	15	18	30	8	..	40
"	1935–6	2,308	2,147	100	3	10	11	13	..	15
Secondary	1928–9	122	83	29	2	3	3	1	..	1
"	1935–6	107	74	24	1	3	3	1	..	1
		students								
University	1928–9	3,812	2,555	1,070	47	30	85	10	7	8
"	1935–6	3,223	2,555	486	40	30	84		13	6

563 Educational Board was abolished, and special officials (a German,
871 a Russian, a Pole, and a Jew) have since been put in charge of the
191 educational affairs of their respective national groups. A further blow was struck with the issue of a new decree in January 1935, requiring all public and private economic undertakings to keep their books and conduct their correspondence and general business in the Lettish language. In June twelve Polish schools were closed.

563 Finally, on New Year's Day of 1936, came the unkindest cut of all,
475 when decrees were issued setting up State Chambers of Trade and of
678 Industry and Commerce, and providing for the eventual dissolution of other economic organizations such as the German guilds, which had existed for some 700 years, and the transfer of their property to the new Chambers or to the local administrations. This measure aroused the resentment not only of the German minority in Latvia, which presented a memorandum on the question to the Government, but also of the German Government, which took up the cudgels on their behalf. On January 16, 1936, the Latvian Minister in Berlin handed in a protest against the violent anti-Latvian press campaign which ensued; on the 22nd the German Minister in Riga called on President Ulmanis, but the latter protested firmly against any German interference in Latvian affairs. Soon after, in March, a secret organization believed to have connexions with Germany was discovered; the arrest of some thirty-five German Balts followed, and, on April 1, a decree was issued dissolving all the economic organizations which had not already complied with the economic decrees of the previous January.[1]

Estonia. The bulk of the Estonians themselves belong to the small
565 peasant class, which was emancipated from serfdom in the last cen-
563 tury; a few are labourers and artisans, and there is a small middle
162 class. The national minorities, which in 1934 amounted to 11·8 per cent. of the total population of 1,107,059,[2] consist chiefly of Russians, Germans, Swedes, and Jews. Nearly three-quarters of the Russians are poor peasants living in the eastern frontier districts, the other

[1] The famous Riga *Gewerbeverein* was spared, as being a purely cultural union.

[2] TABLE 5. *Population of Estonia According to Race.*

Race	1922		1934	
	Number	Percentage of total	Number	Percentage of total
Estonian . . .	970,707	87·68	997,923	88·2
German . . .	18,319	1·66	16,346	1·5
Russian . . .	91,109	8·23	92,656	8·5
Swedish . . .	7,850	0·71	7,641	0·7
Jewish . . .	4,566	0·41	4,434	0·4
Others . . .	14,506	1·31	7,190	0·7

quarter being composed chiefly of ex-officials of the Imperialist Russian régime. In 1922 there were about 18,000 refugees, formerly members of the White Russian army of General Yudenich. The German minority, which is almost entirely Lutheran, consists mainly of merchants, artisans, industrialists, and expropriated Baltic Barons; most of them live in the towns, as does also the small middle-class group of Jews. The Swedes are concentrated on the coast and in certain islands, where they earn a livelihood as fishermen and peasants. A certain number of Letts inhabit the districts near the Latvian border, several of which were in dispute between the two countries in 1918.

Estonia has a well-earned reputation for the model treatment of her national minorities. The Constitution of 1920 (Articles 12 and 20–3) guaranteed instruction in their mother tongue to racial minorities, and granted every Estonian citizen the right to declare to what nationality he belonged. Racial minorities had the right to establish autonomous institutions for the preservation and development of their national culture, so far as was compatible with the interests of the State. In districts where the majority of the population belonged to a racial minority the language used in the local administrative bodies might be the language of that minority, without prejudice to the right of Estonian nationals to use their own in dealing with such bodies. Article 23 provided that individual German, Russian, and Swedish nationals should have the right to address the Central Administration in their own languages, and foreshadowed the passing of special laws regulating the use of those languages in the courts. In view of this comprehensive charter of rights, Estonia considered superfluous the Declaration guaranteeing minority rights which was required of her by the League of Nations on her admission in 1921, and she only consented to make a general statement, similar to that of Latvia, on September 17, 1923.[1]

On February 4, 1925, a Law of Cultural Autonomy was adopted, providing that any minority numbering not less than 3,000 persons should have the right to exercise national autonomy.[2] The administrative organs of cultural autonomy were to consist of the Cultural Council, with not less than twenty and not more than sixty

[1] On two occasions German landowners in Estonia sent petitions to the League of Nations relating to agrarian reform, once in February 1921 (before the Declaration of 1923) and again in May 1926. In neither case did the petitions come before the Council.

[2] If such a minority expressed the wish to do so, a register was drawn up in which any citizen over 18 years of age might enter his name, the sole criterion of his nationality being his own declaration. If less than half of the adult citizens entered in the last census as members of the minority enrolled, no further steps were taken and no fresh application could be made for three years. Otherwise, the next step was to hold elections for a Cultural Council, the convocation of which required at least half the votes registered. Finally, the right to exercise cultural autonomy was granted if two-thirds of the Council expressed the wish for it.

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563 members, a small executive committee, and local councils if desirable. The competence of the Council extended to all educational, cultural, and charitable institutions, and to the collection of special taxes from the members of the minority, subject to the approval of the Ministers of Finance and Education. In addition to the funds thus raised, the minority received a proportion of the funds set aside by the State and local governments for educational and other cultural purposes.[1]

Up till now the German and Jewish minorities have availed themselves of this law, which has operated very satisfactorily. The Russian minority did not at first consider it necessary to organize a Cultural Council, since, like the Swedes, they already had sufficient influence in the local administrations of the frontier districts, in which they were massed in great numbers; they are now, however, preparing to exercise the right of cultural autonomy. Under the liberal régime thus established there has been singularly little discontent among the national minorities, although under the dictatorship set up in 1934 it would appear to have increased to a certain extent. In the bi-cameral Assembly, which drafted the new Constitution in 1937, the Jewish, Russian, and German minorities had representatives in the Upper Chamber.

3. Church and State[2]

795 *Estonia*. The majority of Estonians belong to the Lutheran
162 Church, which has been firmly established ever since the period of Swedish rule (1521–1710); the Greek Orthodox religion introduced under the Russian régime gained relatively few adherents.

659 The Constitution of 1920, while guaranteeing freedom of religion, declared in Article 11 that there was no State religion, and made no

563 871 [1] Table 6. *Minorities and Education in Estonia, 1929–30.**

Type of school	No. of schools	No. of pupils	Nationality (per 100 pupils)				Language of instruction (per 100 pupils)			
			Estonian	Russian	German	Others	Estonian	Russian	German	Others
Primary . . .	1,292	97,979	88·1	8·8	1·3	1·8	88·4	8·8	1·8	1
Secondary . .	83	15,883	85·7	4·4	7·3	2·6	84·5	5·3	9·2	1
Higher (university and higher technical school) . .	2	4,225	86·8	5·3	3·75	4·15	..	..	..	..

* Figures taken from *Estonie de 1920–1930* (Tallinn, 1931).

[2] Table 7. *Religious Denominations in Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania (in percentages of the total populations).*

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Country	Date of census	Lutheran	Roman Catholic	Orthodox	Old Believers	Jews	Others
Estonia .	1934	78·0	0·2	19·0	..	0·4	2·4
Latvia . .	1930	56·6	23·7	8·9	4·8	4·9	1·1
Lithuania .	1923	5·6	80·5	2·5	..	0·9	7·3

provision for compulsory religious instruction. In February 1923, 659
however, a Bill submitted to a referendum by the Christian-Democratic party (Lutheran), making religious instruction free and compulsory, was adopted by 330,000 votes to 130,000.[1] In 1926 a Law on the Religious Communities was passed, disestablishing and disendowing all religious bodies, while permitting them full autonomy and freedom to carry on their spiritual tasks. Under the dictatorship, however, a new law of 1934 imposed a certain degree of State control over the churches. Their statutes were subject to confirmation by the Government, and the decisions of the Church Councils could be vetoed by the Minister of the Interior, while the President of the State might require the appointment of other or additional candidates at the elections of the heads of the churches. All priests and [793]
divines must be Estonian citizens, and services must be held in the language of the parishioners, except where ancient church languages were used. The churches were allowed their own courts, whose decisions might be provided with an executionary clause by the lay courts.

Latvia. Since the time of the Reformation, when the Baltic Barons 795
changed over from the Roman Catholic to the Lutheran faith, the 162
majority of the inhabitants have been Lutherans. The Province of Latgale, however, owing to its historic connexion with Poland, has remained Catholic to this day. During the period of Russian rule the Orthodox Church enjoyed a privileged position.

Complete religious liberty exists in Latvia to-day. The churches 659
are autonomous, but they receive small State subsidies, and clerical affairs are subject to the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior. In view of the large Catholic population in Latgale, the Government [648]
signed a Concordat with the Vatican on May 30, 1922,[2] recognizing the Catholic Church as a corporate body, and establishing an Archbishopric at Riga, with the stipulation that the Archbishop must be a Latvian citizen and his appointment subject to the Government's consent.

Lithuania. Owing to its long historical connexion with Poland, 795
Lithuania has remained almost entirely Roman Catholic to this day. 659
In the Constitution of 1922 the State recognized the equal right of all religious organizations to administer their affairs, to publish their doctrines, and to acquire property. Religious education was to be [794]
compulsory in schools other than those established for the children of undenominational parents, and was to be in accordance with the requirements of the religious organization to which the student belonged.

[1] The result of the plebiscite was a defeat for the Government, which had previously rejected the Bill; in accordance with the Constitution, therefore, the State Assembly was dissolved, and new elections were held.

[2] A Supplementary Convention was signed during M. Munters' recent visit to Rome in January 1938.

British Government also expressed the hope that the German Government could see its way to interpreting the words 'Germany's south-eastern and north-eastern frontiers' so as to cover also at least the Soviet Union, Latvia, and Estonia, as well as the States actually contiguous to Germany. The German Government vouchsafed no reply to the British *questionnaire*. 648

In January 1937 there were symptoms of a recrudescence of hostility when the German press published allegations that the Lithuanian Government contemplated the reorganization of the Army under the supervision of Soviet officers, and that there was talk in Kaunas of large deliveries of arms from the U.S.S.R.

While Lithuania's relations with Germany on the whole improved, the same could not be said of her relations with Poland; and indeed, they were a matter of concern not only to the latter, who in 1936 showed a desire for reconciliation—albeit on her own terms—but also to the Latvian[1] and Estonian Governments, who realized that until the Vilna dispute had been liquidated the relations of the Baltic States with Poland could not be as close as they would like. How the Polish Government, in March 1938, finally took matters into their own hands, and forced the issue by presenting Lithuania with an ultimatum, backed by the concentration of troops on the frontier, is related in the following chapter.[2] It may be suggested here, however, that once the Vilna controversy has been settled, Poland's scheme for a neutral *bloc* stretching from the Baltic to the Black Sea may be nearer to realization than at any time since the World War.

VI. SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF LITHUANIA'S FOREIGN POLICY

1. Vilna

Up to the Treaty of Union of Lublin in 1569, Vilna had been the capital of the Lithuanian Kingdom; by the time of the partitions of Poland and the Russian annexation of Lithuania at the end of the eighteenth century, however, it had become a centre of Polish, rather than of Lithuanian, culture. In 1918 the new Polish and Lithuanian States both laid claim to possession of the city and of the district surrounding it.[3] 648 361 [177]

When the Germans evacuated Lithuania at the end of 1918, Vilna was proclaimed the capital of the new Republic and renamed Vilnius.

[1] At the end of March 1936 the Latvian Foreign Minister visited Warsaw to discuss Polish-Lithuanian relations.

[2] See below, pp. 92–3.

[3] The ethnographical bases of the rival claims are somewhat confused. The Lithuanians claim that the only reliable census was that of 1861, which showed a proportion of 74·3 per cent. Lithuanian- to 16·2 per cent. Polish-speaking inhabitants of the relevant parts of the 162

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361 In January 1919, however, the Lithuanian Government had to retire to Kaunas before the Bolshevik invaders; and when these in their turn retreated before the combined attacks of Lithuanian and Polish forces, it was the Poles who entered Vilna first on April 20, and who remained in possession until the second Bolshevik offensive in the summer of 1920. On July 12, 1920, Lithuania concluded a treaty of peace with Soviet Russia at Moscow, in which the province and city of Vilna were ceded to her by Russia; three days later the Red troops drove the Poles out of the city, and, on their evacuation during the Polish counter-offensive in August, they handed it over to the Lithuanians.

Tension between the latter and the Poles now became acute; fighting broke out in the Suvalki district, and on September 5 Poland appealed to the League of Nations. At the instance of the Supreme Allied Council the two countries agreed to accept a provisional frontier, known as the 'Curzon Line', giving the Suvalki sector to the Poles and the Vilna district to Lithuania; and an armistice convention to this effect was signed at Suvalki on October 7. But on the previous day an ostensibly unauthorized[1] Polish force under General Zeligowski entered the town. The General proclaimed a free and independent 'Republic of Central Lithuania', and constituted a Government consisting of two Poles, two White Russians, and two Lithuanians. On October 12 Poland concluded a preliminary peace with the R.S.F.S.R. at Riga, the first Article of which defined the Soviet-Polish frontier and stipulated that the allocation of the territories situated to the east of it under dispute between Poland and Lithuania should be exclusively settled by those two countries themselves.

The Zeligowski *coup* was followed by long-drawn-out and fruitless negotiations, first before the League Council, then in Brussels under the presidency of the Belgian Foreign Minister, M. Hymans, and finally at Geneva again. Various suggestions, e.g. the conduct of a plebiscite, the constitution of a federal State on the Swiss principle,

●162 Vilna Government. The Poles state that the proportion of Polish inhabitants has steadily increased since 1905, the figures for the whole province of Vilna being as follows:

Census of 1897:	17	per cent.	Lithuanians,	9	per cent.	Poles.
„ 1909:	13	„	„	16	„	„
„ 1916:	10	„	„	30	„	„
„ 1919:	10	„	„	62	„	„

The censuses conducted during the German and Polish occupations cannot, however, be taken as reliable, especially as adherence to the Catholic faith was often taken as a proof of Polish nationality. It seems clear that the Poles have a considerable numerical superiority over the Lithuanians in the city of Vilna, while the reverse is the case in most of the country districts. Actually, the prevailing elements are the Jews in the city, and the White Russians outside it.

[1] Later, however, General Pilsudski admitted—and gloried in—his responsibility for this act.

361 Lithuanian population was allowed complete cultural liberty until after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870; nor was the campaign then initiated for the Germanization of the district ever carried to such extreme lengths as to alienate the loyalty of the Lithuanians to the
● [162] Crown. In 1918 the population of the city itself was almost entirely German, while the bulk of the inhabitants in the country districts were of Germanized Lithuanian-speaking stock, although a certain number were bilingual.[1] The majority had adopted the Protestant faith of their German rulers.

361 438 Memel's prosperity, under the German Empire, was based on the timber trade and its dependent industries; a considerable amount of flax, grain, and other agricultural produce was also exported, and, largely owing to German enterprise, iron foundries, shipbuilding yards, breweries, and chemical factories had been set up.

648 361 *The Post-War Settlement.* At the Peace Conference in Paris there was some discussion of a French proposal to constitute a Greater Poland, which should include the whole of Lithuania as well as an outlet to the sea at Memel. Eventually, however, it was decided to detach the Memel district from Germany with a view to handing it over to the new Lithuanian Republic, if and when that country should have received *de jure* recognition. In spite of German protests,[2] therefore, a clause was inserted in the Treaty of Versailles (Article 99) to the effect that Germany renounced all right to the territory in favour of the Allied Powers, and undertook to accept the settlement made in regard to it 'particularly in so far as concerns the nationality of the inhabitants'.

Even after the *de jure* recognition of Lithuania by the Allied Powers, which was delayed, owing to the Vilna dispute, until November 1922, the future of Memel remained undecided. In the meantime, the administration of the territory had been taken over on behalf of the Allies by Général Odry, who was later replaced by a French High Commissioner, M. Petisné.[3] Alarmed by a French

1

162 191 TABLE 11. *Population of the Memel Territory.*

Date of census	*German-speaking*	*Lithuanian-speaking*	*Bilingual*	*Memel-landers*	*Others*	*Total*
1910	71,191	67,345	1,970	...	260	140,766
1925	61,671	39,106	..	35,690	5,373	141,840

[1] In a Note of May 29, 1919, Germany contested that the inhabitants were predominantly German—the city of Memel, in particular, being a purely German town—and had never desired such a separation; moreover, they offered to establish a free zone in the harbour of Memel, in which Poland, as well as Lithuania, should be accorded liberal privileges. The Allied Powers replied that the district as a whole was predominantly Lithuanian in origin and speech, and that the port of Memel was the only sea outlet for Lithuania.

[2] A Committee of Seven, which had been appointed by a preliminary Parliament (elected

1. [i.e. Memel -- Analyst]

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B. ECONOMIC AND FINANCIAL

INTRODUCTION

THE three Baltic States cover an area of rather more than 65,000 square miles, and are thus slightly larger than England and Wales. The country is for the most part flat, and rarely rises much more than seven or eight hundred feet above sea-level, except in the so-called Lithuanian heights in the south-east of Lithuania. For the most part, also, the soil is of glacial origin, consisting partly of sand, mixtures of sand and clay, sometimes very fertile, and pure clay, which is often waterlogged. There are thus numerous marshes, heaths, bogs, and lakes. The three States lie roughly between latitudes 54° and 60° N., but the continental nature of the country renders the winters long and hard; there is a comparatively heavy snowfall, and even the large rivers such as the Nemunas (Niemen), the Daugava (Dvina), and the Lielupe (Aa) become frozen. Much of the country, especially where the soil is sandy, is covered with timber. Few mineral deposits except the shale of Estonia are yet of any commercial importance.

The total population of the three States is just over 5½ million.[1] The density is greatest in Lithuania; that of Latvia and Estonia is only just over half that of Lithuania. Lithuania, also, has by far the largest excess of births over deaths, though in all three countries the excess of births has tended to decline since the years immediately after the War. Lithuania, however, still has, after Poland, the highest birth-rate in Northern Europe. Yet in none of the three countries is there any great concentration of the population, and only three towns have a population of more than 100,000, namely the capital cities Riga (385,000), Tallinn (140,000), and Kaunas (105,000).[2] But though there are few large towns, the proportion of the population dependent on agriculture varies considerably. Of the persons gainfully occupied in Lithuania nearly 77 per cent. are engaged in agriculture, whereas the figure for Latvia is 66 per cent., and that for Estonia only 60 per cent.

[1] For population and vital statistics see Appendix I.

[2] The population of the other principal towns according to the latest figures is as follows:

Tartu	59,000	Siauliai	24,000
Liepāja	57,000	Narva	24,000
Daugavpils	45,000	Panevezys	21,000
Memel	38,000	Pärnu	21,000
Jelgava	34,000	Ventspils	16,000

Cf. Great Yarmouth 56,769, Gravesend 35,490, Canterbury 24,450.

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APPENDIX I

POPULATION

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1. *Population, Area, and Density*

	Estonia	*Latvia*	*Lithuania*
Date of census	1.3.34	12.2.35	1.1.36*
Population	1,126,000	1,951,000	2,527,000
Area (square miles)	18,353	25,395	21,489
Density (inhabitants per square mile)	61	77	118

* Official estimate only.

2. *Vital Statistics*

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	Annual birth-rate per 1,000 inhabitants	*Annual death-rate per 1,000 inhabitants*	*Annual excess of births per 1,000 inhabitants*
Estonia:			
1921–5 average	19·6	15·5	4·1
1926–30 „	17·6	16·5	1·1
1931–5 „	16·5	14·9	1·6
1936	16·1	15·6	0·5
Latvia:			
1921–5 average	22·1	14·8	7·3
1926–30 „	20·7	14·8	5·9
1931–5 „	18·3	13·9	4·4
1936	18·1	14·1	4·0
Lithuania:			
1922–5 average	28·3	16·4	11·9
1926–30 „	28·1	16·2	11·9
1931–5 „	25·4	14·6	10·8
1936	24·1	13·3	10·8

3. *Occupations*

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(Numbers employed in various occupations expressed as a percentage of those gainfully occupied.)

	Estonia (1934)	*Latvia (1930)*	*Lithuania (1936)*
Agriculture	60·2	66·2	76·7
Industry	17·8	13·5	6·4
Commerce	5·1	5·2	2·5
Transport	3·5	3·3	1·1
Other (public and domestic service, liberal professions, &c.)	13·4	11·8	13·3
Total	100·0	100·0	100·0

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
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populations were deeply rooted in tradition. Estonia, with a prewar population of 1,250,000, had about 900,000 Lutherans and approximately 215,000 Greek Orthodox. There was only a small group of Roman Catholics. Lithuania, on the other hand, with 3,000,000, was predominatingly Roman Catholic. Minorities of Lutherans, Jews, and Greek Orthodox constituted about one-fifth of the population. More than half of the population of Latvia belonged to the Lutheran Church, but there were substantial Catholic and Greek Orthodox minorities. The organizational activities of the Churches were varied and rich. In Lithuania, for example, with two archdioceses and four dioceses, more than 800,000 persons were enrolled in various lay organizations. The largest daily newspaper was in Catholic hands, and the total circulation achieved by the religious press was impressive. In Latvia likewise, publications under religious auspices numbered more than a fifth of those printed.

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The first Communist occupation, dating from June 15, 1940, engulfed all three nations in tragedy. The Russians decreed that every organization established before their seizure of control "jeopardized public security," and religious institutions and organizations were suppressed. Their property was confiscated, and they were forbidden to maintain any contact with the outside world. Religious instruction was curtailed drastically, the clergy being called upon to sign a pledge that they would desist from teaching religion either in public or in private. Waves of Communist propaganda, much of it directed against religion, passed over the country, burying every attempt at counteraction. Within a year the Russians had destroyed every overt vestige of the autonomous culture which these small countries had fostered during the limited time of their independence.

It was done ruthlessly, brutally, barbarously. More than

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that two different languages entered into use there: the masters, that is the landholders, spoke German (in Estonia and Latvia) and Polish (in Lithuania) in part because the newcomers brought with them their own language and customs, and in part because the local nobility adopted them. The common people, however, spoke their native tongue and preserved their cultural heritage from a legendary past. After the First World War, these three countries ceased to be provinces of the Russian Tsardom and became independent. Radical agrarian reforms curbed the influence of the great landowners. The native tongues became the official languages, while literature and education restored popular traditions.

In 1939, the population of these three states numbered about six million, that is, a little more than the population of Chile, a little less than that of Sweden. They were agricultural countries whose economies were maintained by a well-organized exportation of bacon, eggs, butter, grain, and fowl to Western Europe. In this, as well as in other respects, they resembled Denmark. Whoever knows the patterns of farming life can easily picture the mode of existence of these Baltic regions. A widespread system of cooperatives helped the farmer sell his products. His standard of living, judging by his appearance, his house and his diet, was higher than that of the Slavonic countries, with the possible exception of Czechoslovakia. Most Estonians and Latvians were Protestant; most Lithuanians, Catholic. All three nations were characterized by obstinate patriotism, or even chauvinism—which is understandable in terms of their hard past. Militarily, all three were defenseless.

The fate of these states was decided in the talks between Molotov and Ribbentrop. In the fall of 1939, Molotov demanded military bases; the Baltic governments hurried

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SU 133* including the offshore islands, has marked morainic features, such as an BC abundance of gravel and boulder fields, swampy, lake-filled depressions, 133 and clayey and sand soil types. The main rivers are the short, but important Narva (Russian *Narova*) River, the outlet of Lake Peipus and a source of hydroelectric power, the Western Dvina River (Latvian *Daugava*), which also supplies water power, and the Neman River (Lithuanian *Nemunas*, Polish *Niemen*) which enters the Kurland Gulf, SU a shallow lagoon of the Baltic Sea.

132 The moderate continental climate is characterized by a low range BC between summer and winter temperatures, unlike the greater extremes 132 which are common along the same latitude in the inland areas of the European USSR. The humid westerly winds produce a mild, damp cli- SU mate, with moderate winters, cool summers, a precipitation of 20–25 137 inches yearly, and a high proportion of cloudy days. The poor glacial BC soils and the humid climate are favorable to the growth of mixed forests, 137 where coniferous stands alternate with oak, birch, and aspen clusters, and the development of hay meadows. Except for oil shale in Estonia, peat, and construction materials (clay, sand, and limestone), the region SU is poor in mineral resources.

162 The total population of the Baltic Region is about 6 millions, of BC which 2.7 millions live in Lithuania, 1.8 millions in Latvia, 1 million in 162 Estonia, and 600,000 in Kaliningrad Oblast of the Russian SFSR. In addition to the titular nationalities of the three republics, the population includes the Latgals of eastern Latvia, who are related to Latvians, as well as Russians, Belorussians, Jews, Poles, and Swedes. With the exception of Lithuania, where large villages are common, the rural population lives in small hamlets of three to seven households. About one third SU of the population is urban and resides in small towns.

631 The three Baltic republics, each of which represents an ethnographic BC unit, marked by a uniformity of language, history, and culture, were 631 part of the Russian Empire prior to the First World War and became firmly linked with the Russian economy through trade and transportation routes. Following the Bolshevik Revolution, they separated from Russia and constituted themselves as separate independent states. In 1940, following Soviet military penetration, Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania were annexed to the USSR as union republics. Because of the relatively higher level of material prosperity, special consideration was given to the republics with respect to administrative organization. Instead of introducing the current administrative structure of rayon and

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on the right, and the Sheshupa (Šešupė) on the left. The Neman is navigable below Kaunas, and for shallow-draught vessels below Alitus (Alytus).

The Lithuanians represent about four fifths of the total population and, except for small Latvian and Belorussian minorities, make up the bulk of the rural population. The principal non-Lithuanian groups, Russians, Jews, and Poles, belong chiefly to the urban elements. The rural settlements are villages of a much larger type than the small farming communities generally found in Latvia and Estonia.

The long-contested Vil'nyus district was awarded to Lithuania following the partition of Poland in 1939. In 1940, when Lithuania joined the USSR as a union republic, it also annexed from the Belorussian SSR a narrow strip of territory with a predominantly Lithuanian population. Its present territorial configuration was completed in January, 1945, when it reacquired the Memelland, which had been ceded to Germany in 1939.

In 1950 Lithuania was divided into the oblasts of Vil'nyus, Kaunas, Klaypeda, and Shaulyay.

Agriculture is the principal branch of the economy. Grains cover the major part of the sown area, mostly rye and oats. Potatoes are an important crop in connection with the raising of hogs; flax and forage grasses (mainly clover) are sown in rotation. A few areas are under sugar beets. In addition to hogs, dairy cattle and poultry are extensively raised.

Dairy farming forms the basis for the chief industries of the republic. Butter and dairy plants, meat-packing plants, and tanneries are scattered throughout the entire region. Sugar is milled in a number of places, including Mariyampole (Marijampolė) and Panevezhis (Panevėžys).

Lumbering furnishes raw material for woodworking plants and paper mills. The glass and cement industry is being developed under the post-war Five-Year Plan; peat-based power plants are under construction at Kaunas and Shaulyay. Fisheries are important along the coast, near Klaypeda. Textiles are manufactured from imported silk, wool, and cotton. The only local fuel resource is peat, which is processed widely into briquettes. Building materials are quarried. To be noted also are the health resorts of Birshtonas (Birštonas) and Druskininkay (Druskininkai) on the Neman River, south of Kaunas, and the sand-dune resorts on the coast in the vicinity of Klaypeda. Meat, bacon, butter, flax, and lumber products are the principal export items.

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Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic

Capital, Riga; area, 24,600, population, 1,800,000

The Latvian SSR lies in the middle Baltic Region, on the Gulf of Riga, which here penetrates deeply into the mainland. This largest of the Baltic republics contains the fertile Riga-Yelgava lowland in its center and morainic hills in Kurland, in the west, and Livonia, in the northeast. The latter region, because of its picturesque hilly landscape, is often called the "Livonian Switzerland." The coasts are low and covered with pine-covered sand dunes. The Western Dvina River (Latvian *Daugava*) enters the republic from Belorussia in the southeast and empties into the Gulf of Riga. It is important for timber flotage and as a source of hydroelectric power; navigation is hampered by sand bars and rapids. Its chief tributary is the Lielupe River on the left. The western part of Latvia, generally known as Kurland, is drained by the Venta River, and the northern (Livonia) by the Gauya (Gauja) River. The forests, which cover 20 percent of the area, are found mainly in Kurland and in Livonia, where the maritime climate has its greatest influence.

The Latvians represent about 60 percent of the total population. The Latgals, who are predominantly Catholic and speak a dialect related to Lettish, constitute about 15 percent of the population and live mainly in Latgale, the southeastern section of the republic. Russians are the most important non-Latvian minority, followed by Jews, Belorussians, and Lithuanians along the eastern and southern frontiers. The predominantly Russian districts of Abrene or Jaunlatgale (now Pytalovo) and Kačanava (now Kachanovo), southwest of Pskov, were ceded to the newly formed Pskov Oblast of the Russian SFSR in 1945. With this cession, Latvia underwent its first teritorial change since the creation of the independent state in 1920.

Prior to the First World War the economy of Latvia was closely integrated with that of the Russian Empire. About one quarter of all Russian exports passed through the Latvian ports of Riga, Liepaya (Liepāja), and Ventspils. The ports, and mainly Riga, became the centers of important industries engaged in shipbuilding, machine construction, textile milling, and the manufacture of chemicals. During its independence Latvia developed its food and light industries to a large extent. At the present time Latvia's economy emphasizes its food industries, which are largely based on the raising of livestock. The dairy

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1,500 feet. In the center lies the lake Vyrts-Yarv (Võrts Järv), which empties through the Emayogi (Emajõgi) into Lake Peipus on the eastern border of the republic. Lake Peipus is connected by the Narva River with the Gulf of Finland. The only other notable river is the Pyarnu (Pärnu), which flows southwest to the Gulf of Riga. The Estonian rivers are generally not navigable, but the numerous rapids provide a relatively large hydroelectric potential.

The Estonians represent more than 90 percent of the total population. The principal minorities are the Russians, mostly in the cities, and the Swedes, on the islands off the west coast and in the urban centers. As in Latvia, rural districts with a predominantly Russian population were separated from Latvia and annexed to the Russian SFSR. The territorial transfer which took place in 1945 involved the Petseri (now Pechory) district, which was incorporated by Pskov Oblast, and the narrow frontier strip on the right bank of the Narva River, which became part of Leningrad Oblast.

Estonia is considerably better supplied with mineral resources than are the other two Baltic republics. Most important are the oil-shale deposits between Lake Peipus and the Gulf of Finland, which form the basis of an industry characteristic of the local economy. The oil shale extends about sixty miles between Rakvere and Narva in reserves estimated at 1.5 to 2.5 billion tons. The yield is 20–30 percent. The product can be used as fuel in solid form, but produces a large proportion of ashes, reducing its caloric value. A method has been developed by which the ash residue can be converted into cement, thus rendering the use of the shale more economical. Distillation of the shale yields heavy oils and various other products used in the chemical industry. In recent years fuel gas has also been derived from the process. The center of the oil-shale district is Kokhtla-Yarve (Kohtla-Järve).

The textile industry assumes large proportions in the Estonian economy. There are large cotton mills at Narva and Tallin, and smaller weaving and flax-spinning enterprises in other towns. Forests, which cover 20 percent of the area, furnish lumber for match, paper, and furniture industries. Tyuri (Türi) is the chief paper-milling center. Blue clays along the Gulf of Finland coast supply a large cement mill at Kunda. The greater part of the metalworking industries is concentrated in Tallin, Tartu, and Pyarnu.

Dairy farming is the basic feature of the agricultural economy. Even more than in Latvia do meadows and pastures predominate over culti-